Mo /105 cont'd/
587 then called, if it is a son, either, according to the Chinese custom,
589 Hiao cheng tse, i.e., "/son/ born during the mourning period," or
765 else, according to the T'ou-jen custom, xara khû, i.e., "black
[177] son," which again means "son of mourning" since black is the color
[802] of mourning among the T'ou-jen; they say "to wear black" for "to be in mourning." Black was formerly also the color of mourning among the Mongols. When widows who have not remarried bear
Mo [847] children after two years, it happens that these children are abandoned
848] or that they are drowned right after birth, especially if they are girls. That happens when the family has many children, or when none of
Mo [792] the neighbors wants to feed the poor being. When the newborn is a son, they will keep him, but he will not inherit family property, and as a general rule they will send him at about the age of nine or ten to a lamasery to remain a bachelor. This is the most practical solution for avoiding difficulties in the family later. (1)

Ma [847 848]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit. p. 77: The Manchus are very strict in killing illegitimate children, i.e. the children born by unmarried girls and widows.

The other Tungus groups consider girls who have children as the best for marriage, because these girls have the proof of their fecundity. /Cited in English./

Mo 595 c) The third category of polygamists is met in well-to-do families who lack workers.

Mo 461 462 595 We have seen that all the work, so to speak, is assigned to the wife; the household duties, the care of the livestock, and a large part of the work in the fields. A T'ou-jen wife actually kills herself with work. It is painful to us to look at these men with the nomadic instinct, do-nothings, idlers, spare themselves the least fatigue. It can happen, therefore, in families which have much

/126 cont'd/

588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semi-agrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also [302] among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception [554] whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

● 848 Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. [847] Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four [848] neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

/127 cont'd/

588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called mané kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien
848 cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring"/ of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

/128 cont'd/

858 588 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses [128] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 792 178 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 588 593 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

/155 cont'd/

606 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that
587 they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien,
593 "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain
593 the situation of the women in the series of marriages to the prayer
588 pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes kinship, order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

● 588 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outsiders; partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to
421 keep her property at her mother's home.
593
574 Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home